

THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION OF INDO-CHINA

only general non-technical service. Its octopus-like grasp soon made it so strong that it had to be suppressed; and while the technical services remained, they were profoundly modified. A resuscitated Superior Council, along with local Chambers of Commerce and Agriculture, completed the new federal framework. A reorganization of justice along federal lines strengthened the Union and also curbed Cochin-China's autonomous instincts. But the general budget was the backbone of the new system. It broke Cochin-Chinese resistance by canalizing and circulating its wealth throughout the whole Union. Its principal revenues were indirect taxes, or the famous monopolies of alcohol, opium, and salt. Though they were inherited from the Annamite government, the new form given to these revenues by Doumer made them of dangerous utility. They became in time the greatest single cause of native discontent. A public works programme that would develop the country economically and also strengthen federal ties took the form of extensive railroad construction. The loan of 2,000,000 francs which Doumer ably raised in France gave reality to his project and new life to the colony. Doumer was the first governor to stake the success of his whole work on Indo-China's economic development.

In his local reorganization, Doumer aimed to make the Protectorate truly effective. Tonkin's ties with Hue had already been broken and the native organization simply existed side by side with its French ~~q}lica~~. Unlike Bert and De Lanessan, Doumer saw no good in the mandarinate: he felt them to be the chief source of popular disaffection and corruption. By suppressing the office of *kinh-hioc*,

Doumer gave still further impetus to direct administration in Tonkin. Since native justice still remained largely in their hands, he augmented the mandarins' salaries so as to counteract their inbred venality. Though he saw that the communal organization was theoretically undesirable, he was willing to retain it on the grounds of practical utility. By a further subdivision of provincial administration, Doumer hoped to restore to the civil service some of the powers it had recently lost to the military. His advisory committee, made up of a few hand-picked native Notables itfa a Resident Superior and his council, completed the new *local* &-up. Though still nominally a Protectorate, Tonkin was well advanced on the way to direct administration.

Up to now, the French had been so absorbed by Tonkinese troubles that all they asked of Annam was to live in peace. The Protectorate as only a framework lightly imposed upon the existing organization,